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MACNEIL/LEHRER NEWSHOUR
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MACNEIL: We focus now on today's lead story, the uproar <
>MANUAL 2>over the CIA manual reportedly distributed to the contras fighting in Nicaragua. President Reagan today asked the CIA to investigate the possibility of improper conduct in the publication of the manual, which gives detailed advice on how to wage war against the Nicaraguan government. The manual was clear as to its goal: 'When infiltration and internal subjective control have developed in a manner parallel to other guerrilla activities, a commandante of ours will literally be able to shake up the Sandinista structure and replace it.' While most of the manual instructs on the use of psychological tools, it does recognize the need for more direct action: 'It is possible to neutralize carefully selected and planned targets, such as court judges, police and state security officials. For psychological purposes, it is necessary to take extreme precautions.' What caused much of the uproar on Capitol Hill was the document's apparent advocacy of assassination. In calling for a complete report today, Sen. Goldwater, chairman of the Senate Intelligence

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Committee, said it might violate rules against U.S. participation in assassinations. One of the Democrats reacting strongly to the manual was Congressman James Shannon of Massachusetts. Congressman, you called today for Mr. Casey's dismissal by the president. Why should he be dismissed? REP. JAMES SHANNON (D.-Mass.): Well, it's clear that Mr. Casey and the CIA have been deceiving the Congress. Now, they've come to the Congress time and time again and said that the purpose of our operations in Nicaragua are the contras, or support of the contras, is not to overthrow the Sandinista and yet, as you just pointed out, this document indicates that the purpose is to replace the Sandinista government. He's been lying to the Congress. Secondly, I think that there are real questions as to whether or not the executive order, which was issued by this president and his two predecessors, which said that the CIA shall not participate in acts of political assassination or shall not encourage those acts of political assassination have been violated by this document.

MACNEIL: Let's take these points one at a time. First of all, how are you sure that this document was actually written by the CIA and distributed to the contras in Nicaragua. SHANNON: Well, they have not denied that it was written by them, nor have they denied that it was distributed to the contras. Now whether or not it was distributed to the contras, we're supposed to be the greatest democracy in the history of the planet and does neutralizing of the public officials, inciting mob violence, creating martyrs and sending people out to get killed so that you can have martyrs for the contra revolutionary cause, does that respect the values of the American people? I don't think so, and I think that there's a real question raised here, either as to whether or not this administration has been going around prescriptions of the Congress in deceiving the American people or as to the competence of this president to continue in office.

MACNEIL: Now are you saying that Mr. Casey deceived the Congress or are you also saying that Mr. Casey deceived the president or are you alleging that President Reagan also shared in this purpose? SHANNON: Well, something has to be held accountable. Now if the president didn't know about these activities and if the CIA is once again a rogue elephant running off doing things without permission, then Casey should be fired summarily, and perhaps others as well. If not, if the president of the United States knew of the activities and encouraged them and supported them, then I think that raises a very serious question about whether or not he's been coming clean with the American people.

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MACNEIL: Well, both the White House and U.N. Ambassador Kirkpatrick, we heard her earlier on our program, said today that assassination is definitely not a part of U.S. policy. Are you not satisfied with those declarations? SHANNON: It's nice of them to say that, however, the document which we have obtained indicates that assassination was in fact contemplated in this manual prepared by the CIA for the contras in Nicaragua. So if they're saying one thing and if in fact they're producing manuals calling for another thing, I think an explanation is deserved and I think it's deserved very quickly, as Sen. Goldwater said.

MACNEIL: Are you satisfied with the president's call for an investigation today? SHANNON: I am not satisfied with his call for an investigation. I think the American people deserve an answer before the election and I think we deserve an answer that comes from someone other than those within the Central Intelligence Agency. And I'd like to see him go further and very quickly state his case to the American people as to what this manual is all about. It's abhorrent. It is, as Congressman Bolin, it espouses the doctrine of Lenin, not Jefferson, and we deserve an answer as to what goes on here.

MACNEIL: Thank you, we'll come back. Jim.

LEHRER: For a different view of it, Ray Cline, former CIA deputy director. He also served from '69 to '73 as director of the State Department's bureau of intelligence and research. He is now a senior associate at the Georgetown Center for Strategic and International Studies here in Washington. Mr. Cline, is this the kind of thing the CIA ought to be doing? RAY CLINE (former CIA deputy director): You know, I'm not very clear what the CIA has done with respect to this document. The congressmen seem to be very wrought up about it, but I've seen an awful lot of guerrilla handbooks of this sort which tend to be of the same kind. They're written mostly by Che Guevara and Ho Chi Minh and various communist revolutionaries. Uh, I think we should find out how the contras got the document, what use it was, I don't see it as a very clear form of instruction by anybody in the American government to do anything. We all know the contras are working against the Sandinista government. We know that the president, within his constitutional authorities, has been giving some assistance through the CIA, perhaps for other purposes, to the contras. I, I must say I'm particularly surprised that the congressman's statement is again a rogue elephant. I never though I'd hear the Intelligence Committee people say that after Frank Church said it when he began his investigation and then retracted it in his formal investigation of the CIA. So let's find out what has been happening before we have impeachments and Casey

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dismissals. I suspect this is not a very sinister document nor will it have very much to do with CIA.

LEHRER: You don't think it will have anything to do with the CIA? CLINE: I think the fact that the contras have such a document or that CIA may have helped them get their hands on such a document does not mean the CIA has asked them to do anything specific in the book. And I am sure the CIA would not ask them to commit an assassination.

LEHRER: Why are you so sure? CLINE: Because the guidelines of the CIA, since 1976, have made clear that they should not do so. And in fact CIA never did commit an assassination, despite all the speculation about it and the fact that two presidents once suggested that they undertake to do so.

LEHRER: You do not believe then that the, Congressman Shannon, one of Congressman Shannon's alternatives here, scenarios, was that the CIA did, is doing it all on its own, not telling Congress, or even possibly the president? CLINE: I think that's preposterous. I don't, I think that Frank Church was right, after a two-year investigation which Walter Mondale sat in on, when they said that if anything, CIA was guilty of not following its instructions from presidents who wanted them to commit assassinations. In fact they failed even to carry out those orders. I don't think CIA has ever been in the assassination business and I'm very sure that they didn't instruct the San... the contras to commit assassinations.

LEHRER: But back to my first question, that is, this document or this handbook on guerrilla warfare included, and there's no question it includes the words, that if CIA just did what you said, possibly helped get it to the contras that we're supporting, you do not find that as reprehensible? CLINE: I don't think so. I, I, would, as I say, I can find such a handbook on any library shelf here in Washington. I can find a lot of it in Spanish. I suspect that the contras did in fact ask somebody, perhaps the CIA, for the classical literature on how to run a guerrilla operation and the book included these statements which are characteristic of the way the Viet Cong in Vietnam and other places ran operations. But I don't see that as a CIA order to do anything.

LEHRER: Do you smell any U.S. presidential politics? CLINE: I smell a lot and I also smell the fact that, as we all know, the House of Representatives Intelligence Committee has been against any support for the contras in Nicaragua or any attack on the Sandanistas. And I am really surprised that that very careful Intelligence Committee has released a document of this size, kind, which is being quoted out of context, as far as I can see.

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LEHRER: Thank you. Robin.

MACNEIL: Congressman, why has your very intelligent, very careful committee done that? SHANNON: Well, first of all, let me say that it wasn't released by the Intelligence Committee. It was released, as I understand it, by the Associated Press. But secondly let me say I am astounded that Mr. Klein would equate the leaders of our country to Ho Chi Minh and Che Guevara. That's the essential point; we aren't a communist country. We're an open society. We've been respected for our values around the world for 200 years because we have respect for human life and liberties. And here we go, and I know Mr. Cline you haven't read this document, but I'll be glad to give you my copy of it because I have another copy. CLINE: I hope you will so we can be sure what we're talking about. SHANNON: This calls for assassination, and if it was published by the CIA and if it was distributed by the CIA, I think it's in violation of the law and I think the American people have a right to know why it is that the law was violated. CLINE: If I gave you a book on birth control, would I be ordering you to use some particular form of contraception? I think you're taking a very routine document in the guerrilla business and pretending that it's an American order. SHANNON: Well, let me suggest that before you characterize this document, that you read it. I've read it, you haven't. And when you read it I think you'll come to the same conclusion that I and others that have read it have come to. This calls for illegal acts and it is not... CLINE: But by whom? By whom? Who calls for them? SHANNON: By whoever wrote the document. CLINE: It says *Tat Ti Yond on the front, who is Tat Ti Yond? SHANNON: We have had no denial from the CIA. As a matter of fact, the CIA has confirmed that this document was written by the CIA. The question is whether or not it was distributed.

MACNEIL: Congressman, what about Mr. Cline's other point? He was sure the CIA would never ask the contras to commit assassination because assassination is against the guidelines and the CIA has been obeying them. SHANNON: Well, I guess the question is, have they been obeying them and does the distribution of this pamphlet, this manual, if was distributed, violate that executive order? I think that is a question that is legitimately raised and which the CIA and the president of the United States should respond to.

MACNEIL: Isn't that a legitimate question to raise, Mr. Cline? CLINE: I have no objection to raising the question. I just object to having what, all I've been able to see has been the allegations in the press, obviously coming from the House Intelligence Committee, that it is already a case proved against the CIA.

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SHANNON: Well, no one on the Intelligence Committee said that. CLINE: I suggest that that's just not true. Well, you just said it, you said it was a rogue elephant, which it never has been. SHANNON: I'm not on the Intelligence Committee, Mr. Cline. But nobody on the Intelligence Committee... CLINE: Well, all right, I don't like this allegation. SHANNON: Nobody on the Intelligence Committee has made this allegation. CLINE: I don't like to see any congressman making such allegation without having some evidence.

MACNEIL: Congressman, what about Mr. Cline's further point that it is 'preposterous,' to use his words, that the CIA would be operating on its own, deceiving the Congress or even the White House? SHANNON: Well, then I think that raised questions about the White House and about the leadership of this country. I'd like to believe that the president of the United States would never allow such a document to be produced by our intelligence agency. But there is a question raised here. If he knew about it, if he knew the CIA was in fact counseling these kinds of activities, killings, then there are real questions about the leadership of the country. If he didn't know about it, I think there are real questions about his competence to control the administration and government in the Central Intelligence Agency.

MACNEIL: I know you don't speak for the White House, Mr. Cline, but do you have any observation on the relationship between the CIA and the White House or the presidency that could be relevant to what you've just heard? CLINE: I feel that the White House is establishing the guidelines and the operational instructions for the CIA, that the CIA is following them very carefully. I am struck by the fact that the front page of this manual, which is all I've seen, says 'Psychological Operations,' it doesn't say 'A Manual for Murdering People.' The fact that it does in a kind of iffy way, according to the quotations, discuss the possibility of neutralizing and, uh, uh, neutralizing officials and using some of the jargon of what is essentially Leninist literature doesn't impress me as being a serious act by the CIA authorized by the president, or carried out in defiance of their instructions.

MACNEIL: What about Mr. Cline's point, Congressman, that there's a strong smell of presidential politics about this? SHANNON: Well, I think this is a legitimate issue. I think our policy in Central America should be squarely on the table before this election and we should have the facts. And I don't think there's anything wrong with that. We are a democracy here, Mr. MacNeil, and people can decide on the basis of the facts whether they want these policies to continue. These are very, very serious

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statement that are made in this manual. If in fact it is a CIA document, then I think the president has some explaining to do.

MACNEIL: Is it naive to think, Mr. Cline, that all protestations to the contrary, that assassination and other uses of force like this are never part of American policy? CLINE: I, no I don't think that's naive. Uh, I think the flirtation with assassination in the late '50s and early '60s which was brought out in the Church committee inquiry and, as I say, did not result in any real assassinations, were (sic) an aberration in our national behavior. I think it was decided very clearly in the mid-'70s that we would not authorize such operations and that they, therefore I think it is logical not naive to believe that they have been avoided ever since that time. And I do not believe that a manual about murders or assassinations means that the CIA or the president has instructed anybody to carry them out. SHANNON: Well, I will just say that we've had some real concerns about the operations in Nicaragua. There's been a raging debate in this country for the last four years. There have been allegations of failure to disclose essential facts to the Congress in the past. And as to the question of whether or not this is a partisan effort going one, you know, I think we can cite Sen. Goldwater, who is clearly not a liberal Democrat, who wants to see this matter cleared up. That's what I'm asking for too and that's what others on Capitol Hill are asking for, some answers and some answers quickly.

MACNEIL: Well, Congressman Shannon and Ray Cline, thank you both for joining us. Jim.

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